DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 064 467 UD 012 834

AUTHOR Chesler, Mark; And Others
TITLE Preparing for School Desegregation: A Training Program for Intergroup Relations. Volume 3.
INSTITUTION Community Resources Ltd., Ann Arbor, Mich.
SPONS AGENCY California Univ., Riverside. Western Regional School Desegregation Projects.
PUB DATE Jun 72
NOTE 53p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS Community Support; Educational Change; *Institutes (Training Programs); Integration Effects; Integration Methods; *Intergroup Education; Intergroup Relations; Political Issues; Program Evaluation; Questionnaires; Race Relations; Resource Materials; *School Integration; *Sensitivity Training; *Teacher Education; Teacher Workshops
IDENTIFIERS California

ABSTRACT

Volume 3 of a triad of volumes on the theory and practice in implementing change to achieve school integration, incorporating the experiences of the personnel at a training course for intergroup educators in the Western region, this booklet focuses on the politics of educational change, resistance to desegregation, organizing community support, and a summary of the principles of desegregation. Also appended are references and resource materials, a schedule of events for workshops, and the evaluation questionnaire used in the program. For the full abstract for the series, see UD 012 812 (Volume 1). For Volume 2, see UD 012 833. (RJ)

ED 064467

PREPARING FOR SCHOOL DESEGREGATION:

A TRAINING PROGRAM FOR INTERGROUP EDUCATORS

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UD 012834

Volume III

June, 1972

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PREFACE

Late in 1970, the Western Regional School Desegregation Projects (WRSDP) was requested by the Association of California Intergroup Relations Educators (ACIRE) and by the Bureau of Intergroup Relations (BIR), California Department of Education to prepare a training program for intergroup educators in the western region served by the Office of Equal Educational Opportunity, Health, Education and Welfare. The program was planned jointly by the Information Dissemination Module of WRSDP and University Extension, University of California, Riverside (UE-UCR). It was structured as an Extension credit course titled "Theory and Practice in Implementing Change to Achieve Integration of Schools."

Community Resources Limited, Ann Arbor, Michigan, (CRL) was contracted to develop and present the training program. Dr. Mark Chesler, who had previously been commissioned by HEW to prepare a series of manuals on school desegregation, was selected as the Project Director. In addition to Dr. Chesler, four other staff consultants from CRL were appointed project trainers. These were Dr. Alan Guskin, Provost, Academic Affairs, Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts; Dr. David Sanchez, Jr., Assistant Professor, Ambulatory and Community Medicine, University of California, San Francisco and member of the San Francisco Board of Education; Dr. Morton Shaevitz, Dean and Director of Counseling and Psychological Services, University of California, San Diego; and Will Smith, Dean of Student Affairs, University of California, San Diego. Mark Chesler is Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Michigan.

The three consultants from California furnished a knowledge of local problems and policies as well as considerable experience in school and community organization. Dr. Chesler and Dr. Guskin had extensive background in research and the sociology of institutional change. The combination provided a multi-ethnic, multi-racial staff with a diverse set of practical and intellectual skills and resources.

Including planning and follow-up the program spanned a year in time, the training sessions actually running from April through November, 1971. It was supported and monitored by WRSDP and UE-UCR staff. Three consultants from the BIR attended regularly. Twenty-four school districts in California, Arizona and Nevada participated in the training sessions.

Screening into the Program was made by ACIRE, BIR and WRSDP with the final selection reserved to CRL. Each intergroup specialist who participated was required to identify a key school person in his district to be his or her teammate at the conference sessions.

The objectives of the program were agreed upon by Dr. Chesler and Dr. James Hartley, Coordinator of the Information Dissemination Module of WRSDP and Dean of University Extension. The training sessions were administered by Dr. Kathleen Siggers, Program Coordinator of the Information Dissemination Module.

Evaluation and documentation was conducted by WRSDP and CRL, both informally during the training sessions and formally by structured and open-ended questionnaires completed by the participants. All sessions were taped by WRSDP. The transcripts from these tapes formed the base for the final evaluation and for the publications that have resulted.

In December, 1971, WRSDP published a presentation made by Mark Chesler to the Intergroup Educators Training Program. This paper was

also published in the Fall issue of The Journal of Applied Behavioral Sciences.

The triad of bulletins in the present publication is a final contribution to the program from the CRL training team. These three volumes capsulate the activities experienced by those who attended the training sessions. They deal succinctly with the how-to of "implementing change to achieve integration" in both "theory and practice." The bulletins should be a valuable addition to the resources available for helping schools and communities move through the difficult tasks of desegregation and integration.

WRSDP considers it a privilege and a pleasure to be able to conclude one of its major Title IV projects with such a worthwhile documentary.* Congratulations are due Community Resources Limited.

A special thanks is extended to the Training Program members who shared their rich, intercultural experiences and their capacity for openness and honest appraisal with the program staff and with each other. A list of the individuals who participated and the school districts they represented is included in the publication.

--Kathleen Siggers
Editor

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*This three-volume bulletin series and the Intergroup Educators Training Program were supported by funds from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, Title IV Contract No. OEC-9-71-0057(209).

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CHAPTER IX

THE POLITICS OF EDUCATIONAL CHANGE

Before a school district moves toward any form of desegregation, those within the ranks of public education must be acutely aware of three major political arenas. The first arena that can change a city's reaction toward the concept of desegregation is the mass media. The second arena is the public face of key institutions, the way potent forces in the urban society act and are seen by outsiders. The third arena is the internal and often invisible workings of the educational system.

The Media

The mass media include the daily newspapers, TV and radio stations, all of which have access to diverse types of information. These media frequently seek to increase sales by emphasizing issues of a dramatic and controversial nature, such as those dealing with busing, black-white racial confrontation or teacher assault. Even though the school district has its own public information office to disseminate information to the press and other media, the news items that tend to be printed are those that help sell the most papers.

There is no effective way local advocates of desegregation can control a free press, and therefore, there is no way they can guarantee positive coverage and interpretation of their efforts to abate educational inequality. The press reports as it sees fit, often reporting in ways that hurt, rather than help, school change. Of course, desegregation planners who have thought through their relations with the local press, and have established good working relations with key members of the city

desk or the educational beat, probably will find more sympathetic reporting. Often the press is simply uninformed as to the real issues, just as are many citizens. Specially designed public information programs geared to inform local press and media staff may prove very useful.

Public Institutional Images

Local political and economic concerns influence acceptance of and resistance to any philosophy or effort to implement a plan of integration. With this in mind, one should take a hard look at the powerful and decisive forces that flow through an urban network.

One of the key forces within the network of public institutions are the local community units themselves. These units include typical volunteer organizations ranging from Mothers for Neighborhood Schools, the Taxpayer Revolt Group, the Taxpayers Against Busing, to the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, the NAACP, and the Student Law Center. These major groups play significant roles in trying to articulate a given philosophy regarding the acceptance or rejection of desegregation.

In San Francisco, voluntary organizations helped to organize the black and Chinese parents' boycotts and instigated litigation filed in the courts. Members of the Chinese community attempted to get an injunction to halt the Federal court order. There is still litigation before the State Supreme Court regarding the threatened breakdown of the Chinese family and the need for supporting its particular concept of neighborhood education.

Actions were also taken by the NAACP and by MALDEF to ensure the continuation of their bilingual-bicultural curriculum for children whose native language is other than English and to increase the numbers of bilingual-bicultural teachers.

The governor of the state commented upon the San Francisco situation to the effect that desegregation was certainly not a response to meeting the educational needs of all children and that children would suffer because of busing. Of course, numerous politicians continually made reference to positions taken by the President of the United States.

The Educational Institution

The third arena we must be aware of as we try to define and implement a program of desegregation is the private institutional workings of the educational system itself. The Board of Education, which normally constitutes anywhere from five to seven people, can attempt to define and direct a superintendent and staff to implement policy. As we start to cut through the layers of institutional bureaucracies, however, we may encounter continual resistance from the middle management layer. Resistance may occur both within the superintendent's cabinet, and from field administrators called upon to implement policy.

A common way to hinder the implementation of policy is to withhold information from faculty or parents so that a crisis is created. As an example, parents in San Francisco were told that buses would not be delivered on schedule because the board had decided that funds

should be cut from the transportation office. This was an error, but it caused confusion and some apprehension. Sometimes the problem was not that wrong information was given but that information was not given at all. Both these situations created a crisis cycle whereby the board and superintendent were forced to react to public outrage rather than permitted to act positively. The situation could have been minimized if the mass media had taken the initiative to acquire objective information and if the internal handling of information had been adequately programmed from the superintendent's office.

The teachers' associations reacted positively to the concept of integration at first. It was not until there were staffing guidelines from HEW that the teachers' group showed any sign of major concern. A key requirement of the Federal Office of Civil Rights was that all secondary staff was to be integrated. This brought reactions from teachers who wanted to know if policies regarding voluntary staff transfers would be violated, and if agreements made during the strike the year before were being transgressed. Their question was whether the board would show good faith as it tried to meet its past commitments to teacher organizations.

The administrative organizations, primarily the secondary and elementary school principals, took no affirmative stand toward the policy and program of integration. There was no actual assessment of whether individual field administrators tried to encourage or discourage the implementation of the stated policy. Very little communication was undertaken to evaluate or involve the supportive services of the field administrators themselves.

Implementing Change

The public and private workings of an institution must be understood as connected to formal and informal networks in which the definition and implementation of policy is established. Change agents must be acutely aware of the range of positive and negative forces for change within the school system itself. The central staff, teacher organizations, legal counsel, regional HEW office, Office of Civil Rights, state departments of education, superintendent and field administrators are all involved in an interactive system. All components influence decisions that affect what happens to the most important consumers in the whole process--the students.

The school system is supported by nonteaching personnel who play a very important role in the life of a child attending school. Provisions must be made in desegregation planning for these people to gain new insight into the changing social structure. They should be provided with in-service training directed toward how children should be treated in a cafeteria line, a bus monitor line, the lost and found, with the school nurse, with the counselor, or any other place.

Students, teachers and parents often are required to react to policy that has never been defined or communicated to them. Many find out about things such as busing pick-ups, staffing of schools, teacher assignments, and other critical concerns by reading about them in the local newspaper. There must be communication with students and parents in language they can understand. When the system sends out little information and the press precedes the board in publishing news items, parents

and communities have no alternative but to react to poorly informed and sometimes prejudicial sources of information regarding educational matters.

Change agents and human relations personnel must be involved in effectively transmitting accurate, objective information. Communication is a major vehicle determining which programs and policies will be accepted or rejected. Continual awareness of and accessibility to the public power structure, the key private institutional sectors, and the mass media is essential. It necessitates continual communication within local school sites, with field administrators and with neighborhood groups. It requires a certain expertise in working within the educational system itself, and in developing strategies that utilize change and the conflict generated by it as positive forces for students.

There is no way that politics can be factored out of public education. All too often professionals see change as a technical process, devoid of its political context. Any time you have litigation, however, or Federal court orders guaranteeing opportunities for minorities or for those people who have not previously had access to influence and power, conflicts will occur. Governing bodies, institutions and independent taxpayers are all involved in making decisions and in carrying them out. This is a circumstance that all of us in education should be aware of. What we do as individuals and as concerned educators, in essence, becomes political simply by our interaction with the community.

Types of Influence

A clear articulation of the politics of education should help us

function more precisely in our efforts to create different educational structures. There are at least three different arenas of influence in educational matters. The first of these is at the level of policy itself. High up the political ladder, policy decisions usually are made by the board, the superintendent and sometimes his immediate staff. In the case of school desegregation, national and regional policy has been made by the President of the United States, the Secretary of HEW, the U.S. Commissioner of Education, local mayors, city councils, and especially by the judiciary. In fact, the judiciary has been led into an affirmative position because other policy makers often have failed to act in accordance with the Federal Constitution.

A second arena of influence relates to program development--the arrangements, strategies, and plans made to implement policy. This arena is typically left to the superintendent and his central office and to school administrative staffs. Additional technical expertise is available from Federal, regional and sometimes state educational offices. Since many local desegregation programs clearly violate the intent of desegregation policy, the judiciary recently has become an active force in this arena. In addition, the Office of Civil Rights, HEW, and other Federal agencies have designed program outlines to "clarify" local policy.

A third arena of influence, one most open to teachers, parents and students, pertains to the monitoring of program and policy. Involvement in watching and monitoring the desegregation process can enable us to have a continuing effect on its outcome.

There are also several different forms of influence that any person or organization may attempt to exert. One form is communication, the offering of information and opinion to decision makers. More potent than mere communication, however, is communication that is listened to or that is heard. Differences that exist in communication potency may be a function of the style of communication itself or its relevance to the issues. Communication is likely to be most effective when it is tied to the credibility or power of the person or group communicating. Sometimes the accessibility to and interest of the target of communication is the decisive measure of its strength.

Another kind of influence is advice. Advice may be listened to but may or may not be followed. In that respect it is very close to communication.

Mutual decision-making represents a third form of influence, one through which various parties interact in ways that strengthen their relationship with one another and share their vulnerability to each other.

Finally, and perhaps in some ways the converse of some earlier examples, control of the decision-making process is the ultimate form of influence.

Strategies of Influence

The kinds of influence possible may fluctuate with the various arenas in which influence is exerted. A key variable in this entire process is the strategy utilized for gaining or exerting influence of any kind in any arena. Two broad classes of strategies exist:

1) those oriented to cooperation and collaboration by one or another form of voluntary consensus; and 2) those oriented to conflict through various forms of involuntary agreement or coercion.

In the first instance attempts are made to gain dialogue and engender communication and clarification sessions between those who wish to have influence and those who hold power. Beyond dialogue or information sharing, various parties may engage in mutual problem solving. Appeals for redress of grievances in the name of common values also fall within this category. Generally, these strategies are most successful when there is some pre-existing agreement upon goals or broad policies. Then powerful forms of collaboration on programs can be established. Monitoring is often accomplished best by just such mutual diagnostic or problem-solving activities.

In the latter case people involved will make various attempts to create policy agreement among those who differ considerably. Access to political power and expertise may net great influence. The withholding of information or leakage of information previously held privately may be one important strategy in breaking the hold of groups currently in power. Information about "what's really going on in the schools?" "in the board room?" "in the finance office?" may develop new constituencies. These concerns may also force public articulation of privately held differences. Old constituencies may be retained or strengthened by the transmission of newly available or even distorted and inaccurate information or threats.

Organizing new or old constituencies to exert pressure on current wielders of power is another part of this strategy. People desiring

influence may coerce those with influence to see new political patterns and change their policies or programs. Disruption or sabotage are additional tactics those with little power may use to multiply their leverage upon a system. These strategies are not based upon assumptions of agreement by power holders desiring change. Rather they are based upon the assumption that power wielders have a self-interest in maintaining their power and are likely to come to agreement as they witness the development of new political forces and pressures. It is recognized that those with power can be overcome and replaced by these pressures if voluntary change through collaboration, dialogue and problem solving does not occur.

All of these strategies have their most effective time and place for usage; all occupy a prominent and cherished role in our social history; all must be considered for their appropriateness by the change agent seeking to influence the politics of education.

Arenas of Educational Politics

Public Faces	Private Faces
MASS MEDIA	BOARD OF EDUCATION
GOVERNMENT President Governor-Mayor Police & Fire Commissions Department of Public Works	SUPERINTENDENT Cabinet
ECONOMIC Industry-Business Chamber of Commerce Real Estate	CENTRAL OFFICE Desegregation Officer Legal Counsel Middle Management
MILITARY Army-Navy	EDUCATOR ORGANIZATIONS ASSP - ESP AFT-CTA CEC Non-certified
RELIGION Council of Churches Catholic-Jewish	HEW - USOE Regional Office Office of Civil Rights Secretary HEW Department of Justice
COMMUNITY Voluntary organizations NAACP-MALDEF Student law center	STATE Department of Education Superintendent
COURTS	SCHOOL SITE Principal-staff Teachers Department heads Non-certified staff Students Parents

CHAPTER X

RESISTANCE TO DESEGREGATION

We can think about resistance to desegregation along several dimensions. One dimension examines where resistance comes from; the other examines the kind of resistance being offered.

Most of the resistance we have discussed comes from the schools themselves. With specific regard to school resistance, we discussed the often negative impact of desegregation on teachers' skills and attitudes, organized teachers' unions, middle management administrators, top administrators, the school board, and the State Department of Education and regional offices of HEW. Certainly the standard curriculum is in itself a further barrier to positive desegregation efforts. Resistance to desegregation also occurs within groups of educators otherwise committed to change, even among persons in local desegregation teams.

Among the multitude of community institutions which may be loci of resistance are governmental, economic, religious, military or voluntary systems. It also is possible to find resistance stemming from small groupings of persons which are not major social institutions, such as a family, several families or a neighborhood council. In charting a strategy to overcome resistance, it is necessary to determine whether resistance is centered within a person, with a small group of people, within a major community institution or within the school itself.

Identifying Characteristics of Resistance

Besides locating the source of resistance, it makes sense to identify the nature of the resistance to desegregation. Some of the kinds of resistance are principally moral and intellectual. Anti-desegregation speeches, books and materials, for example, are frequently rhetorical or stem from firmly-held values and convictions.

Another kind of resistance is strictly political. We have cited examples of candidates developing political platforms on the basis of their anti-busing or anti-desegregation stands. Local political support can be consolidated around calls for referenda against desegregation or against those board members who are advocating such a plan of action.

Economic resistance is used as a tool for political pressure and can be found within the top levels of the educational institution itself, as in the case of the school's financial officer withholding funds for the hiring of school bus monitors. We can also find economic resistance in a board's refusal to allocate money for teacher training programs, or for the purchase or rental of buses. And we see the same general pressure in a major company's desire to please its workers by moving to the white suburbs or by threatening to do so.

Another type of resistance takes the form of withholding talent and manpower. Some teachers refuse to teach in certain schools. Others will "teach" but do not really exert a full measure of effort in the desegregated classroom. Teachers' unions may insist that the staff will not be available after school hours. Key resources also are curtailed when firemen refuse to go into certain areas and when policemen fail to ensure the safety of buses. A subtle form of this kind of resistance can be found among powerful political leaders who neglect to ex-

ercise their political power in pursuit of desegregation. This is a kind of political opposition that involves the restriction of talents, resources, and leadership.

Resistance can be expressed through the use of scare tactics, propaganda, threats, of people promising to support or not support safety in busing. In several parts of the country this approach led to physical violence. In Pontiac, Michigan, for instance, a parking lot full of school buses used to transport youngsters was firebombed. This exemplifies a form of physical resistance to a desegregation order and plan. The fire marshall's decision that a school is not safe for Anglo students, when it has been perfectly safe as a habitat for minority students, borders on both political and physical restrictions.

Another very subtle kind of resistance is inertia. In the complicated mechanism of the local educational bureaucracy it is difficult to identify the people who can appropriately be held accountable for specific actions. It may be impossible to determine why certain matters were not acted upon. The maintenance of the status quo and the inability of vast, complex, institutions to be flexible in the face of any kind of change is normal in large systems. Since social change requires a great deal of creative and flexible behavior, bureaucratic inertia clearly qualifies as another kind of resistance.

Plans to create school change should include blueprints for overcoming these forms of resistance to change. Such designs can be done best with clear understandings about who is resisting and what kinds of resistance are being applied. If we understand the kinds of resistance used we can build strategies to overcome them. There is little sense in trying to combat physical resistance by employing more talent in training teachers. It is useless to engage in debates about ideology

if we are encountering economic resistance. One must think about resources to neutralize economic resistance, political organization to defuse political resistance, new talent to surmount manpower shortages and the like.

CHAPTER XI

ORGANIZING COMMUNITY SUPPORT

There are many diverse elements in any community, and school administrators are often overwhelmed in dealing with the different and sometimes warring parts of this complex system. To gain community support for desegregation numerous factors in each local community must be considered. Vested interest groups have to be identified and their views and power evaluated. Such groups include local business firms, the media, ethnic identity groups and government officials.

Let us assume you have a desegregation plan and you want to gain community support for its implementation. First, efforts to work with the community may be doomed if you wait until after you have made major decisions. The effort to build community support should begin even before a plan designed early and energetically. The following activities seem most important.

Create a team

Initially, begin to recognize those individuals who will work on the project and begin the process of team development. Some people identified may become involved specifically for desegregation programming, but one should develop other allies, inside and outside the school system. Then one can begin the job of creating a team. It is one thing to find people with common goals and common interests; it is another to spend sufficient time in clarifying interpersonal relations and building ways of working together so they can act as a unit.

Obviously the job facing us is too big to do alone. It requires the integrated use of many diverse talents. One desegregation official

recently said, "they keep us so busy putting out fires we don't have an opportunity to develop long-range strategies." Another way of stating it is that individuals become so busy they have no opportunity to meet together to find out what has been going on, to share successes, to give solace to those who have had defeats, and to develop inter-dependence. The notion of a team is a critical one, and it implies shared values, goals and strategies. No team functions well unless it provides sufficient time for its own maintenance, performs as a unit, and continually builds connections beyond its team.

Go with Your Strengths

The second major principle in organizing support is to identify and cultivate strengths. Select your friends and work with them; then have them work with their friends.

The notion of a monolithic white community is as erroneous a notion as a monolithic minority community. There are really multiple communities within every community; units form on the basis of religion, of neighborhood, of economics, of ideology, of race and ethnicity. A team should be composed of people who represent and can relate to a variety of such sub-groups.

At some level it may be possible to convince all men of the ultimate value of desegregation, but initially that is most likely to be a waste of time. Know who will be opposing you and try to know what their strategies are, but do not spend time trying to convert overt and public racists to advocacy of a multi-cultural society. It is tiring, discouraging and will be unsuccessful. Local resistance must be dealt with and eventually neutralized or made ineffective. It does not need to be eliminated.

The bulk of team energies should be spent in two places: first with friends, and second with the uncommitted. In the area of social problems the majority is always on the side of the status quo. If they were not the problem would not exist. Wherever you begin, realize that the majority of people will be apathetic or against you. Friends must be kept, enemies must be watched, and the balance of effort should go toward cultivating those people who are uncommitted--concerned, worried, uncertain, unsure, but wavering.

Among your friends are a variety of people who will support the team activities for a variety of reasons. You cannot assume that they are in it merely because they think the cause is right. Your concern is to be sure that they will advocate quality desegregation.

Unit Organization

What is a natural unit for organizing a community for change? Usually work in small groups is most effective at first. You are not likely to get the church to advocate desegregation because, depending on the size of the community, the church includes people with a range of different attitudes. You may get support, perhaps, from a clergyman or a parish or a congregation. In the same vein, you probably will not get a neighborhood to advocate desegregation. You may be able to get a block, or a club. Perhaps you cannot get the school system very active, but you may be able to energize the faculty of an elementary school, the principal's association, or perhaps the counselors' group. A support system of large organizations is needed, but in terms of commitments to teamwork and action you will have to work with smaller, natural working and living units. Large gatherings are efficient for giving out information, but the probability of generating ideas leading

to action is very low. A small breakfast or party would be better.

Organizing meetings requires careful planning. Never assume a "wait and see what happens" attitude. Sometimes that goes well, but more often time is wasted, people become bored, or the meeting diverges from its purpose. It is crucial in dealing either with sub-groups or with total groups to have a meeting design. The design may have various elements--getting to meet or know others, sharing information to reduce resistance, working in small groups, or planning desegregation details.

A simple way to form groups at a large meeting is to give people numbered name tags when they arrive. Later they can break into groups according to their tag designation. The move into small groups is thus preplanned, and the resistance to breaking out of the large group setting is diminished. If you want to work in small groups, determine how and when you are going to do it, and be explicit about what is going to be done.

Another consideration in designing a meeting is to focus the discussion by raising appropriate questions. The response to: "Shall we move toward integration?" may stifle discussion and produce negative results. A much more positive approach would be to ask, "What are the things we must do if we are to create an integrated school?" This encourages more task centered and positively oriented responses. Meetings can also be regulated by carefully selecting the participants and providing an agenda.

Ideal meetings end with a provision for further action. "Where do we go from here?" "What are the next steps?" "When do we meet again?" With some plan for the future, even if it is as limited as to provide another session to review progress, sustained action may be possible. In general people are reluctant to meet, then reluctant to separate

for any period, and then reluctant to get back together. If the meeting design has a follow-up built in, it has a good chance of creating a group that will continue to deal with the issues presented.

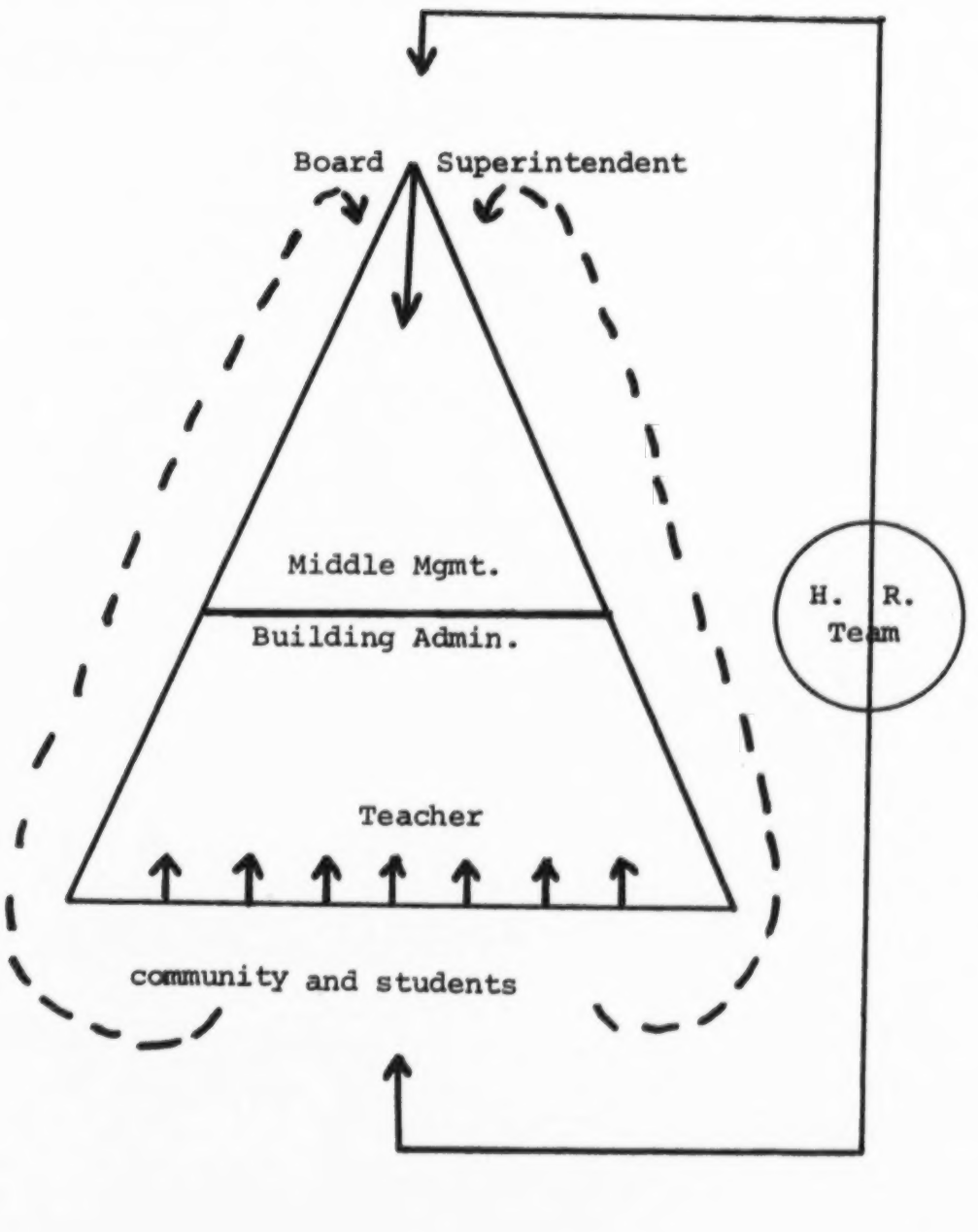
Changing the School

Organizations as large and complex as a school generally are run as hierarchical systems--from the top down. At the top level of the organization we have policy-making bodies, school board members, the superintendent and his close advisors. Toward the bottom are the people who are either carrying out policy or receiving services such as the community of teachers, parents and students. The sketch that follows demonstrates this.

It is a very difficult task to change an organization, and particularly to try to create change from the bottom up. People frequently believe that by activating the community or the students and the teachers they will create enough power to force change. Sometimes this works; often it does not. On the other hand, only working from the top down, only having the superintendent and school board advocate change, is also insufficient. There are too many subtle ways to resist or subvert the plans of leaders.

Most effective strategies usually move in both directions at once. It is critical to get top leadership to publicly endorse an integration plan. Some people will be swayed by this. Others simply will choose not to fight "city hall." Pressure from below can be generated to influence those administrators who implement policy. The effect of pressures from both directions can be enormously effective with middle management, principals and teachers.

A human relations or desegregation team can build up support at


Board
Superintendent
Middle Mgmt.
Building Admin.
Teacher
community and students
H. R.
Team

the local community level through the school, ethnic group, church, and neighborhood. The team also can utilize its access to the board and superintendent by dealing with them directly. A difficult issue at this point is one of vulnerability. Could the team be sacked for its activities?

As a system begins to prepare for desegregation a powerful combination of approaches could take the form of administrative-faculty-community teams from each school. A training program for such a group, including students, would encourage discussion and sharing both within and across peer lines. Teachers or students do not necessarily have to confront their own principal directly; peers in the same roles can work with one another closely. Principals can commiserate about common difficulties and support one another to form a common support base. Teachers also can work with one another. As we begin to change schools so that education will be a more pluralistic, meaningful and humane kind of experience we must work directly with all those persons who deal most immediately with the issues. Only when change comes about on multiple levels will it endure.

In summary, when you begin dealing with the issues of community support: (1) start as early as possible, (2) recognize that it is a complicated, difficult job, and that you need teamwork and help, and (3) see that involvement is a continuing process. You never achieve a static position of community support. What you have is a constant process of getting community support. As programs change, and as the community changes, so will the dynamics of support.

CHAPTER XII

PRINCIPLES OF DESEGREGATION: A SUMMARY

An overview of the desegregation planning process should provide a review of the kinds of things we have discussed in this bulletin series. Our discussions of desegregation planning have been incidental and somewhat fragmented. Here we will try to line out some of the general principles underlying the issues involved.

Goals and Models

Central to any discussion of school desegregation planning should be a clear understanding of the kinds of things we are shooting for. It is insufficient to take as our goal the physical movement of bodies and the rearrangement of boundary lines so that students can be brought together in ways that provide different racial distributions in different settings. The mere physical movement of youngsters does little to provide or guarantee any changes in quality education, in the character of racism in American schools, in school achievement patterns, in the interpersonal relations existing among black, brown, and white youngsters, and in the variety of patterns of ethnic plurality. No plan can settle for the mere physical mixing or desegregation of people. Provision must be made for an educational environment encouraging academic and human growth for all students according to their particular talents and needs.

As we start to talk about cultural pluralism and positive forms of social interaction we will require models of school integration far and away different from anything that is happening in most communities across this country. We can realize quite quickly, when we look to where progress is being made, for example, that in very few communities is there

any substantial degree of system-wide integration. There is no American history of high quality integrated education. It is even questionable whether there is much convincing history of high quality education at all. As we discuss integration, we are not only looking at issues in race relations; we are also faced with all the problems of improving the quality of American education.

Planning and the Political Process

There have been few voluntary efforts by school systems to achieve massive desegregation. The press for such efforts has come about only in the past few years as an outgrowth of political movements in various communities and through the exercise of legal and judicial authority. Recent court actions have accelerated the pace of school desegregation in the North and in the West as they did previously in the South. Without political pressures and court orders most desegregation probably would not have occurred. It has been the threat or the enactment of court orders that has sparked many communities to lay aside local traditions and to mobilize resources for educational changes.

As a plan for school desegregation is considered, a complex process of political change develops in local communities. Effective planning requires the resources and experiences of a variety of people, and the wisdom of research documenting school and political change as it occurs. Serious planning for school desegregation will bare many issues in the structure and process of schools. Many aspects of local community politics will be affected. The nature of the school board, what kind of community groups organize around what kind of elementary school P.T.A.'s, who runs the industrial sector in that town, who gets access to the power to effect local bonding and funding proposals, where the community stands

on accepting or not accepting Federal aid; all these contingencies and more will play a part in the final outcome. There is no point in being naive about encapsulating the desegregation process or considering technical plans for school desegregation without being honest with ourselves and our constituencies that we are also in the business of initiating and sustaining a very complex job of educational and political change in the community.

Part of the importance of this stress on politics is that it lets us know we can never depend entirely on technical resources for change. Granted, technical resources may either block or facilitate change when things get tight. If we realize what we are dealing with, we can assume that serious talk about integration will lay naked a series of educational inequities, a great deal of malpractice, and a lot of rhetoric whereby educators tell local communities what a good job they are doing in educating students. People, regardless of ethnic origin, will begin to be aware that the schools are not providing successful learning opportunities for all students. This is part of the definition of change, part of the stage setting that should be understood from the beginning when we note that we are moving into a political-educational change process.

Once a school-community system can agree on goals it needs a plan. Courts require a plan. The staff needs a plan. The superintendent wants to know, "Where am I headed?" "What do I have to know?" "How much is it going to cost?" Probably we need more than a single plan. We need a structure to develop a desegregation plan. In other words, what actions should be taken to get to the point of having a workable, salable local plan for desegregation?

Each community should have a second kind of plan specifically for the first day of desegregated schooling. What is going to happen when that which everyone feared and no one thought would come about finally occurs? What will be the reaction when buses come over the hill and youngsters who look very different from one another suddenly begin to deal with one another? What preparations will be made for this?

There is also need for a third kind of plan, one to cover the programs required for that entire first year. What kinds of changes will be required up and down the school system?

Finally, there should be a plan for nurturing these changes over time. How can provision be made for continuing growth, flexibility, and adaptation in the local community. It may be desirable to consider all these in one plan, but the various segments must be addressed.

A coherent plan will indicate what resources should be obtained, what kind of people have to be identified, and what kind of forces need to be mobilized to provide the impetus for change. There are six key areas that have to be included to insure coverage of the various components of a successful desegregation-integration effort. Those components include the administrative staff, the faculty, the student body, the community, the school board, and the nature of the curriculum.

Administrative and Faculty Leadership

Research on desegregation and school change indicates that a vital factor is clear, coherent, consistent leadership for change from the top school administrators. If they unequivocably support school integration there will be a chance for success. If there is any pulling back, any ambiguity on the part of top administrators, this will give subtle or direct support to the forces in the community that wish to resist such

change. No superintendent, regardless of his knowledge of the complexity of the issues, can afford to be anything but forthright in his attitudes toward school desegregation from the very beginning. Moreover, a superintendent has to be supported just as unequivocally by the rest of the senior administration in the system.

The senior administrative staff can best advocate for desegregation if it includes individuals from a variety of ethnic groupings. An all white administrative staff simply cannot expect with any degree of public credibility, let alone sound planning ability, to put together an effective plan. The evidence also seems clear that many decisions about desegregation probably must be more broadly participatory than those most school administrators are used to.

Faculties and administrative staffs of the schools involved must be desegregated, and sufficient numbers of competent teachers in various groups should be provided. School staffs should be heterogeneous with considerable sub-group membership. One way of insuring minority representation on teaching faculties is to deliberately adopt strategies for their preferential selections and retention because of their necessity to both quality education and the successful management of desegregation. Several recent court orders including the de-selection cases in San Francisco appear to lay effective groundwork for the preferential retention of minority group educators.

It seems clear that one cannot take a faculty used to segregated forms of instruction and expect it to be successful in desegregated settings without a great deal of retraining. We cannot expect people who grew up with, went to school in, got their early experience with, and are now teaching in segregated school systems to know how to teach in

a desegregated milieu. Any desegregation plan must have a heavy component for teacher retraining, and preferably for administrator training as well.

It is also appropriate to elaborate different kinds of criteria for instructional performance. We have seen some plans that assign community members and students as faculty members, and that have teachers performing new instructional tasks that broaden a school's resources and styles.

Student Organization

New forms of student organization and involvement are an important part of any systematic desegregation plan. The problems and potentials of student peer interaction require designs for extra curricular activities, new curricular components, and revisions in the very organization of the school so that students can deal with one another across ethnic and cultural groupings with more clarity, directness, mutual understanding, and mutual task engagement than has previously been the case.

Students also will need help coping with parents and community members who resist desegregation. If the school is to pioneer new forms of racial interaction, then it must expect that such pioneering will be met with considerable resistance from some portions of the community. If students are taught new forms of living in the school they need to be provided with some armor when they go back into the community, because those new forms are not going to be readily accepted in the home, on the block, in the neighborhood, and in the community.

Curriculum Reform

Teachers and administrators have to be prepared for a more active student body, one that is going to understand new forms of cultural and

racial interaction and one that is going to demand reflections of those forms in the rest of the curriculum. That means quite clearly that the curriculum must be overhauled. Aside from a general change in the approach to learning in basic studies, specific curriculum attention should be given to the problems of desegregation. Formal and informal courses in school or community taught by professional educators or knowledgeable community members should help students interact with one another and practice desegregation successfully beyond the walls of the school as well as inside the school. A variety of ethnic studies programs speak directly to black students and brown students by focusing on their own cultural and political needs. White students, too, should learn about their heritage and how that may be different from the grand and inclusive western or American tradition. If these kinds of courses are exciting, students will attend. One of the ways we keep students intellectually passive is by feeding them a curriculum of pap with little for them to sink their teeth into, and nothing to get excited about. Once the curriculum begins to come alive we will discover a much more active and excited student body than ever before. One cannot alter the curriculum without also altering the rest of the organizational structure of the school. It is not likely that one can teach students about new forms of cultural understanding, new forms of activism and new forms of self governance without their subsequently demanding pluralism, activism and self governance right in the schools.

Community Engagement

Emphasis should be placed on community involvement and the generation of community ideas for desegregation. Planning activities should be shared with the community. Getting input and involvement from various people

in tne community keeps parents aware of what is going on and how diligently teachers and administrators are pursuing their goals. To the extent that one cannot count on senior administrative leadership to take the lead and actively support school desegregation, it seems clear that the community is the next best hope for commitment and energy. All schools need active community constituencies for the new forms of education being generated. Only through involvement can committed portions of the community work to break down resistance and increase support for desegregation. Community leadership must then watchdog the whole process to make sure that whatever is planned does not become diluted and sabotaged as it slips from hand to hand within the existing hierarchy.

The School Board

We have said little about the school board. The superintendent need not be the sole link to the school board. People who are designing plans should do so in cooperation with those boards, thus sharing educationally relevant experiences and understandings of what desegregation is all about. Ultimately, all training designs, involvement programs, and innovative forms of schooling have to be tested with and supported by these public representatives. The school board can decide to protect itself or deal with the desegregation agenda. It can run or stand still. Whatever it does, and however fearfully or courageously it is done, will determine the shape of local desegregation.

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Ultimate integration through pluralistic redesign of our entire social structure involves everyone in every community. The responsiveness of the general population, and the quality of leadership that sur-

faces will have an astounding impact on the shape of the cultural patterns that evolve.

The degree of change that is required to successfully accomplish the goals of an integrated society is just beginning to become apparent. Never before has education been given such a challenge. Never before has it received such an opportunity.

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APPENDIX A

Schedule of Events for Workshops

THEORY AND PRACTICE IN IMPLEMENTING CHANGE

TO ACHIEVE INTEGRATION OF SCHOOL SYSTEMS

Agenda for Workshop

April 29 - May 1, 1971
San Francisco Hilton

THURSDAY	5:00 p.m.:	Welcome!
	Evening:	Meeting in various sub-groups to get acquainted and to understand where persons and groups are on key issues.
		(Break for dinner around 6:30 p.m. - back by 7:30 p.m.)
FRIDAY	9:00 a.m.:	Simulation of high school conflict and change.
		(Total group meet as a whole)
	Afternoon:	Work on case studies of desegregation problems.
		(Meet in teams or groups of teams)
		Diagnosing school conditions.
	Evening:	Presentation of subpoena
SATURDAY	9:00 a.m.:	Strategies of change Appeals from subpoena
	Afternoon:	Planning for local school and community change.

THEORY AND PRACTICE IN IMPLEMENTING CHANGE

TO ACHIEVE INTEGRATION OF SCHOOL SYSTEMS

Agenda for Workshop

June 24 - 26, 1971
Los Angeles Airport Sheraton

THURSDAY	5:00 p.m.:	Listing innovative aspects of desegregation plans Fishbowl discussions of innovative plans for student community curriculum board teacher administrator
FRIDAY	9:00 a.m.:	Continuation of plans discussions; explorations of objectives and assumptions underlying plans
	1:00 p.m.:	Discussion of affirmative action programs for faculty and administrative hiring, de-selection and firing
	5:00 p.m.:	Free
SATURDAY	9:00 a.m.:	Listing comprehensive plans Fishbowl discussions of comprehensive plans
	1:00 p.m.:	Small groups meet to discuss majority and minority responses to desegregation planning

THEORY AND PRACTICE IN IMPLEMENTING CHANGE

TO ACHIEVE INTEGRATION OF SCHOOL SYSTEMS

Agenda for Workshop

September 30 - October 2
San Francisco Airport Marina Hotel

THURSDAY	7:00 p.m.:	Review and summary of desegregation planning
	7:30 p.m.:	Teacher retraining programs
FRIDAY	9:00 a.m.:	Influencing the administration and school board
	11:00 a.m.:	Organizing community support
	1:00 p.m.:	Lunch
	2:30 p.m.:	Resistance to desegregation
	Evening:	Free for social gathering and exchange out here or in town
SATURDAY	9:00 a.m.:	Implementing these programs in local districts
	12:00 p.m.:	Lunch
	1:30 p.m.:	Further planning for implementation efforts, help in proposal writing, etc.
	3:30 p.m.:	Close

APPENDIX B

Evaluation Questionnaire

INTERGROUP EDUCATORS TRAINING PROGRAM

EVALUATION QUESTIONNAIRE

Sponsored by: Western Regional School Desegregation Projects
University of California, Riverside

Conducted by: Community Resources Limited
Ann Arbor, Michigan

We have reached the midpoint in our training conferences and need feedback from you to help us decide what direction possible future training efforts should take. We also wish to try and respond to any needs or expectations you may have that are not being served in the present conference sessions. Some of the questions are open-ended and request an opinion or value judgment on your part. Others simply require a multiple choice reply. Your responses will contribute significantly in determining where we are and where we wish to go in the remaining time we have together.

1. What were your expectations regarding this training program?

   Given these expectations, how well have they been fulfilled?

2. Do the issues dealt with focus on problems of desegregation in your school district?

   _____ Relevant
   _____ Somewhat relevant
   _____ Not relevant
   _____ Other _____

   Is desegregation going as well as it could in your district?

3. In what areas is helpful information being shared?

In what areas are you not getting helpful information?

4. Have you developed any new skills or competences in performing your job that can be related directly to your experiences in this training conferences?

   _____ Increased competency but cannot define
   _____ No new skills or competencies noted
   _____ Skills have developed from conference experience (describe)

5. Are you satisfied with the training techniques that have been employed?

   _____ Techniques have been good
   _____ Techniques have been satisfactory
   _____ Techniques have been inadequate
   _____ Other _____

What are some of the effective training techniques used in this program?

What are some of the training techniques used which you consider not-so-effective?

6. Would you recommend an advanced training conference with selected members of this same group, a similar training conference with a new group, or no further training conferences similar to this one?

   _____ Advanced training with this group
   _____ Similar training with other groups
   _____ No further training similar to this
   _____ Other _____

Can you recommend others in your school system who would benefit from a training conference similar to this? If so, whom?

7. Have the accommodations, meals, and general housekeeping details been handled satisfactorily?

_____ Very satisfactory
_____ Satisfactory
_____ Unsatisfactory
_____ Other _____

8. Would you prefer to have the conference schedule include a Friday evening work session and close earlier on Saturday?

_____ Work Friday night and leave earlier on Saturday
_____ No change in present work schedule
_____ Other suggestions _____

9. Would you prefer that the Conference build in some scheduled social interaction (such as a Thursday or Friday evening get-together) even if this were at the expense of the participants?

_____ Thursday night social
_____ Friday night social
_____ Thursday and Friday night socials
_____ A list of places to go on Friday night with directions and approximate prices
_____ Other _____

10. Will you please give us any further comments or reactions you may have concerning these training sessions or any we may plan for the future? We are in search of economical ways of serving as many school personnel in the Western Regional Desegregation Area as we can. Please feel free to contact us for assistance, or to give us suggestions.